/83 cont./

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan swamp.

262 252 Cooking. The diet of the Uro is that of all the Indians of the altiplano: : potatoes cooked in water, chuño (potato fecula), boiled or roasted meat, maize, broad beans, quinua, cañave, etc. The Uro add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pith of the totora. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [174] The Uro have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, completely unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic cradle of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uro call vaxaña, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge juts out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uro light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by stewing" (Palavecino).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having /84/ salted it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

273 They make a beer called xawinskania from cañave seeds (Palavecino).

398 [433] Manufacture of balsas. The most important industrial activity of the Uro is the manufacture of rafts of totora, or balsas, to be provided with which partically all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small craft deteriorate rapidly,

262, 273, 276

[For additional, scattered information about the consumption and other uses of food, alcoholic beverages, narcotics and stimulants associated with rituals or organized religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-129.]

/121/

621 616 [171] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recall the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in [220] [242] space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [573] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-[123] making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

Carangas-
Chipaya

/343 cont./

[796] [697] them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

[692] The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex [692] [976] came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [973] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

[621] [535] [282] Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the outgoing alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] [324] [934] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

Carangas-
Chipaya

/344 cont./ Brandishing his banner, he led the troup of musicians and dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion.

The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to profer his bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest. The drinkers never forget their libations directed, as were the offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

/345 cont./

622 re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

*796 The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

[203] [205] Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial [782] ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians [274] squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, [273] preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu *796 Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, 539 no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araxpaĉa	auki,	suma	tiempo	apanital'a,	wainu
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me,	good

mara,	suma	mara,	araxpaĉ-patruna,		todos
weather,	good	weather,	sky	master,	all

wawataki.	Lo mismo	Virxin-taika	xumapeuyuwaxista,
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me,

katokanta	(taki)	wawanakataki,	todos	mondos,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,	all	the world,

wawanakataki	ukʲaro	todos	mondos	pakʲalis	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

Carangas—
Chipaya

/346 cont./

*796 signal all kneeled again in a row facing east and again recited a brief prayer. They began the same rites before each oratory up to the last chapel situated at the limits of Cipaya territory. Having arrived before this low, narrow hut, men and women entered in turn and prostrated themselves before the altar on which the [796] Officiant had placed the effigy of Saint James, the cross, and the sticks which the worshipers had given him. Some paid homage to the saint with their bags of coca, which they placed at his feet or hung in his niche. Others lit small lamps, if this name can be given to dishes containing tallow and a wick, around him and, kneeling before the saint, held censers toward him or burned grains of copal (1). These signs of reverence were accompanied by

1. The Indians give the name copal (kupala) to a resin which while burning gives off a fragrant smoke. This substance comes from eastern Bolivia.

prayers in Aymara.

A small enclosure continues the chapel to the east. It contains a cross of straw which stands on a crude pedestal of earth and some slabs /347/ serving as tables on which the participants place [796 875] coca and alcohol which they offer each other. While each family was taking its place at the spot which pleased it and set out coca, a bottle of alcohol, and the drinking cups that play an essential part in the festival on a small cloth, the Officiant and his helper stretched a small tablecloth in front of the cross, on which they placed 36 mugs and two extra ones outside the rug. They poured a little chicha in each of them, and in each one in succession, following a set pattern (a mug on the left, then a mug on the right, and going from bottom to top), dipped three stones, silicious in appearance, two white and one grey. These stones were then placed between the mugs of the lower row at regular intervals. The Officiant moistened small, round, green stones from old,

Caranga: —
Chipaya

/351 cont./

"Master of the sky, grant good weather to thy sons this year. Give us sheep, young llamas, piglets and lambs. (increase) the births of our livestock."

Frequently, a single Indian, or still more often a couple, would leave the enclosure and go kneel down a certain distance from the chapel facing east. They would each carry a censer or light a handful of khoo beside themselves. They would remain there about ten minutes, meditatively murmuring invocations to the mal'ku, and then would offer up a libation to them followed by several pinches of coca.

Others would go in the chapel to kneel before Santiago and pray to him. The Officiant beat the drum for several minutes at short intervals, probably with the intention of chasing away the evil spirits who were prowling around thereabouts.

Toward the end of the afternoon two old men, turning toward the north, offered up a libation and an offering of coca to Cerro Sajama, "father of the Lauca River which makes us live," and to the Lauca River itself. Both were given the title of mal'ku (Sasama-mal'ku, Mal'ku-suma-Sasama, L'auka mal'ku).

As the hours passed spirits revived under the influence of the alcohol which provoked a recrudescence of piety. Libations were offered more frequently, prayers were repeated after shorter and shorter intervals, and xal'al's burst out at the slightest opportunity. They invited each other to offer alcohol to the foster-parent divinities:

Tabi	?uima	?'al'tama	uyuwirinaka	taki.
All	we	offer up libations	foster parents the	for

/352/ And they expressed the wish to gather together again the next year at the same place to drink and offer up libations: Mara ki?ar(u) hama ("That next year [we offer libations] likewise").

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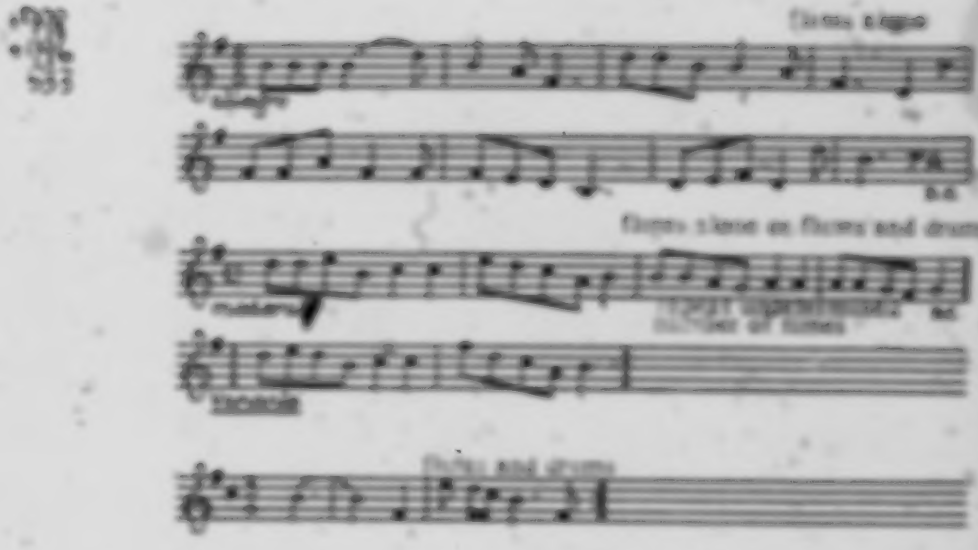
Cavazzo-
Calypso

/361 cont./



Of course the alferes and his wife, furnished with the whips hermes, their insignia of office, displayed especial zeal /362/ and danced with all the more enthusiasm for being rather tipsy.

The Indians remained seated for hours, constantly exchanging civilities in the form of circular, coco, and cigarettes. The most frequent verbal civility consisted of uttering the word xa'al'a or xal'al'a alferes ("Hallelujah alferes"), which some members of the assembly

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Carangas-
Chipaya

/363 cont./

repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the alferez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the alferez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the alferez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw one handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayers and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the alferez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either cuñe (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was crammed between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbons of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. One part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking bouillon were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony:

/363 cont./

*778 *796 514 [862] this time with two soups, one of quinua and the other of ẍuño and quinua leaves. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the efforts of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a [239] [824] group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the sheaves which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

[554] The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

*778 *779 [303] /364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

*778 *796 539

Kant-mal'ku,	Kusil'er-mal'ku,	Kilimint-mal'ku,	Kusil'aviri,
Kant-demon,	Kusil'er-demon,	Kilimint-demon,	Kusil'aviri,
márka-kol'o,	Kemperan	mal'ku,	Estewan-mal'ku (1),
country mountains	Kemperan	demon,	Stephen-demon,

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the winds.

/366 cont./

*796 [562] [889] [932] In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable, /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

[616] The authorities of the saya seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small tablecloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII, A /see p. 133/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII, A /see p. 138/).

[415] [2078] On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII, D).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

Carangas—
Chipaya

/369 cont./

*708 *796 [852] which he added silver leaf and parrot plumules. The women, for their part, attached garlands of bread rings and pieces of cheese and fruit to the festive slings, while keeping watch over the vegetables and grain which they were boiling for the next day's feast. To encourage his helpers the alferez was generously giving an installment of the /370/ festival to come, and, libation after libation, the alferez, Officiant, and friends finally became drunk out of their minds.

*778 *796 533 During the night I was awakened by strange melodies which sometimes seemed very close to my hut, and sometimes vanished in the silence of the desert. Intrigued by these confused noises, I went outside and saw five or six young girls holding each other by the hand; led by a guitarist they were going through the village at racing speed, circling each hut. In spite of the rain, the cold, and the darkness of the night, they did not pause an instant to catch their breath; ever sadder, ever more monotonous melodies (transcribed below) were followed by intervals of silence and then taken up again a little later in the midst of pants of fatigue. In the huts and in the church, the Indians were offering up their libations, disfigured by their ponchos and heavy coverings. Silent and unmoving, illuminated by the dim lamps of their huts, they had the fantastic aspect of ghosts.

*708 *796 [842]

/374 cont./

*778 *796 [373] The festival ended in general intoxication, of which the court in front of the chapel was in part a witness. The drinking continued practically without interruption until the next day, when the alferez held a feast for 120 people. In spite of the relative dearth of alcohol, the alferez, the Officiant, and his relatives found the means to finally roll on the ground, dead drunk.

Several days later on February 12 (Comadres /Gossips' Thursday, the last Thursday before Shrove-Tuesday/), it was the turn of the Kemperani-mal'ku to receive alcohol and presents. The poor idol did not seem to enjoy much favor, for there were few who came to "acquit themselves," and although the rites were faithfully observed they were carried out rapidly. Several small details that I was able to perceive in the gestures of the Officiant and in the composition of the liquids offered to the mal'ku have been mentioned in the footnote on pages 74 and 75. One fact is worth keeping in mind: when the cone was dripping with blood, those present got up and prostrated themselves in front of it. Some touched it lightly with their fingertips and brought them to their [616] lips. The individuals who took part in this festival all belonged to the saya, with the possible exception of the Officiant. The absence of families or of a few representatives at least from taxata *778 *796 did not fail to surprise me, as in the prayer addressed to the 539 Kemperani-mal'ku one is given to understand that the east (tuanta) side of the cone which stands on the border of the two saya "looks at" both of them:

Kemperani-mal'ku	porap-ikina	inkiñi	mal'ku lenta
Kemperani-demon	the two behind	who looks	demon border

towantišta	/375/ taxatišta	maitiñi	hasiki
east of	west of	who hearkens	in this moment

porap-ayl'u	kumplatuja	tonxi-ki	towanta	taxata
the two clans	acquit themselves	today	east	west

Carangas—
Chipaya

/377 cont./

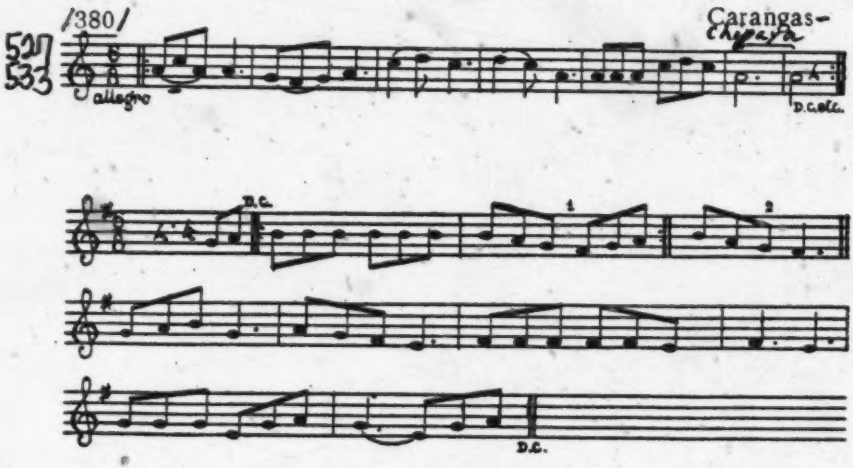
*796 231 236 535 Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

*796 787 857 At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public [785] prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand [262] were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

527 Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence *[796] beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival ● 893] /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead [578] drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, [839] and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text Continues on P. 110]

527 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most
535 monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection
574 with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to
[616] everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

527 In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed
778 into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of
[824] straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the
[987] festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527 The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week.
[533] At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few
● [273] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol
154 did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not
[171] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

/381 cont./

[525] [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

342 [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [273] [296] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother * [778] to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 * 778 [776] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

/166 cont./

252 Too many authors have spoken of the preparation of these potatoes exposed to frost and dried for it to be necessary for me to linger on
[A39] it. This effort would be all the more superfluous since the čuño which the Čipaya consume is bought from the Aymara. Several times I saw the Čipaya make a paste of čuño by crushing them in
[A12] their mortar. The latter is a flat stone (t^{w}ax), slightly sloping, on which the grinding is done with the help of another flat stone (muruku) which goes and comes (Fig. 2, G /see p. 150/).

Meat is always boiled, probably because of the fuel, which burns without a flame or gives off, in the case of tola, an acrid smoke.

264 The food is served in bowls (čua) (Fig. 3, D /see p. 155/);
[A12] liquids are taken with a spoon (wisl'a) (Fig. 2, B) and solids with the hand. At feasts the host spreads out the dishes he is offering to his guests on a blanket, and the latter take them in a flap of their clothes.

● 273 Preparation of chicha from quinua. After being husked, quinua seeds are roasted again. They are then reduced to flour, from which a bowlful is taken out and conscientiously chewed by a woman. The portion soaked with saliva is mixed with the rest of the flour which has been spread on a skin. The whole is boiled and then poured into a large vat to which more hot water is added. The liquid is left to ferment for four days. The drink (k^{z}esi) thus obtained resembles muddy water and is very slightly alcoholic.

284 Production of cheeses. Although the cheese industry is in the foreground of the economic activity of the Čipaya, the technique used is one of the most rudimentary. The rennet is prepared with a piece of fetus tripe of a llama or vicuña which is soaked in water. It is enough to pour a little of this liquid into sheep's milk to turn it into cheese. The casein, after having been pressed between the
[A39] hands, is put into small straw rings which are superimposed and separated each time by a fragment of palm-tree bark, a material which is used to wrap the small packs of coca which the Aymara sell to the Čipaya. When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is

/203 cont./

*171
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[13]

Erland Nordenskiöld, "Origin of the Indian Civilizations in South America," Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 9, Göteborg, 1931.

of Cuzco Department /204/ still preserve several specimens which have been passed from father to son since the Inca period. Like the Čipaya the Quichua surround these pieces with superstitious respect and only use them to make libations of chicha on the
● [203] occasion of some solemn festival. They believe that chicha drunk from one of these mugs has the virtue of making one drunk more quickly than that which is contained in another vessel (1).

1. Herrera, p. 1.

Conclusion

178 The review we have just made of all the Čipaya culture traits leads us to the following conclusion: there is no object in the present-day industry of these Indians which could be considered as belonging to them alone or as representing a survival of their distant original culture. All their material goods are those which we know from the modern or ancient Aymara, or in a general way from the Indians of the Andean altiplano. In their way of life, that of sedentary shepherds, the Čipaya do not differ from the primitive populations of "las regiones frias /the cold regions/," whom the Spanish chroniclers sometimes distinguish from the "serranos /highlanders/." The interest in the Čipaya tribe does not lie then in the originality of their material culture but rather in the fact that their relative isolation has permitted them to keep many an object and many a technique which have disappeared elsewhere. They concern us insofar as they bear witness to rural Inca life, and not as representatives of an isolated ethnic group.

/185/

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the
*539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of
[195] the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which
[193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.:
[276] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give
● [273] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking).
[126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herding.**—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the 231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white [262] root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

● 273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

276 Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.
171

HOUSES

342 Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed [284] vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over [354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and [392] makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The [184] Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

Tschopik Camacho 1-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

tains; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; cheeses and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make a toasted ground powder they call *pitu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *čuñu* (Uru *aunî*). The succulent white roots of the *totora* reed (*suļu*, *kauri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

Kañawa is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far, lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likļa* or *likļi*, or *xawinkonia* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likļi* is made from a plant called *kiwi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [?shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyalella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *totora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual." The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kenļa*, of *totora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

> Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the bundles of *totora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okena*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-